Country Estates, Material Culture, and the Celebration of Princely Life: Islamic Art and the Secular Domain

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In the study of medieval art it is common and useful to make a distinction between sacred and secular art; however, there are some drawbacks to the convention that can often be restrictive. The overlaps and similarities between the two may be greater—and more interesting—than the differences. The Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, the oldest Islamic religious building, is decorated with foliate motifs and imperial jewels (figs. 96, 98), and imagery of agrarian and everyday life is found in abundance on the mosaic pavements of churches. The custom of distinguishing the sacred from the secular grew out of nineteenth-century European scholars' conviction that religion permeated every aspect of medieval society and in importance far outweighed secular matters.[1] In the same period the art of the Muslims was categorized as Islamic and the art of the peoples of the Christianized Roman Empire was grouped together as Christian. The absence of figural religious art in the Islamic world—and in Byzantium the opposite phenomenon, its strong presence—suggested that medieval artistic production was defined and inspired by religious norms, that is, that art's only purpose was to serve religion. Islam's negative position on the depiction of animate beings, interpreted by strictly religious criteria, led to the conviction that Islamic art was entirely aniconic, though in fact the precept applied only to the art of the mosque and of the Qur'an. Even nonfigurative decoration, whether vegetal or geometric, was interpreted using ideological and theological criteria. Thus, when nineteenth-century Europeans traveling along the margins of the Syro-Palestinian desert came upon Umayyad castles or villas decorated with figural sculpture and paintings, they were astonished (fig. 79). In Arabic those desert castles are called *qasr* (pl. *qusur*), a word that can also refer to a large estate, a smaller settlement, an agricultural compound, a bathhouse, or an administrative center.

The *qusur* have been the subject of intensive study and scholarly debate from their initial discovery up to the present day. At first the main concerns were dating the structures and ascribing them to a culture (Roman, Byzantine, Iranian, or Early Islamic); later, debate focused on the uses to which they were put, the provenance of Umayyad palace art, and the patronage of the Umayyad elite. The most impressive and best-known *qusur*—the baths at Qusayr 'Amra, in Jordan (fig. 80), Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, in Syria, and Khirbat al-Mafjar, in the Palestinian territories—have a wealth of figurative decoration, and not surprisingly scholars focused on their subject matter. This included scantily dressed or naked female figures, either sculpted in the round or painted (fig. 81 and cat. no. 142D); hunting scenes (fig. 84); maps of the heavens, such as the zodiac dome at Qusayr 'Amra; and depictions of rulers wearing Byzantine or Sasanian costumes (figs. 86, 88). Study of the Umayyad castles has been furthered by archaeological research, which investigates and foregrounds the economic, political, and recreational functions of the monuments and their relationships with the surrounding inhabited or agricultural land. The field has also been significantly extended in the post–World War II period by the discovery of new sites.

The ongoing debate over the *qusur* is part of a larger investigation into the emergence and sources of Islamic art in Syria and the transition from Byzantium to Islamic culture.[2] The appropriation by the new Arab elite of the traditions of the conquered peoples of the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire and the Sasanian Empire in Iran created a backdrop against which ideas about Early Islamic art have been elaborated. Those ideas are sometimes quite divergent, yet they shed light on the ideologies that shaped them, and some of them, though modified, are still current or at least implicit.

The Arabic sources that mention the *qusur* are all late, written during the caliphate of the Umayyads' enemies and successors, the Abbasids, who were trying to undermine and tarnish their predecessors' reputation in every possible way. The hard-drinking, womanizing, playboy-poet and bon viveur al-Walid II (r. 743–44) and his dolce vita in richly decorated *qusur* are often mentioned in Abbasid literature.[3] Most Umayyad caliphs still stand accused of not being good Muslims and of squandering money on vast irrigation projects to enrich their estates.[4] Mu'awiya himself, the first Umayyad caliph (r. 661–80), when he was rebuked for his expensive tastes and extravagant lifestyle, replied that a Muslim ruler had to appear as much like his Christian opponent as possible.[5]

In the early twentieth century, travelers in the Middle East and students of Umayyad castles approached the experience with the

Fig. 79. Gateway at Qasr al-Mshatta in 1900. Photograph by Gertrude Bell (1868–1926). A_233 from Album A 1905—Italy, Turkey, Lebanon, West Bank, Syria, Jordan, Israel, Gertrude Bell Archive, Newcastle University Library, Newcastle, United Kingdom

Western European Orientalist mind-set. Most of them had studied classics and were interested in Byzantium; others had studied Arabic, Semitic, or Oriental languages, or ancient Eastern civilizations. This last emphasized relations with Sasanian Iran, and, indeed, the earliest study of the emergence of Islamic art focuses on the example of the Umayyad palace at Mshatta, Jordan (see Ballian, p. 209), which is considered to owe a great deal to the art of Sasanian Iraq.[6] Above all, those with a classical education attempted to bridge the gap—or what they saw as the gap—between Byzantine or Late Antique examples and the Early Islamic monuments (see Evans, p. 18).[7] Umayyad art was thus interpreted as a departure from earlier, classical models and therefore as representing a decline.

The romantic view was promoted in the 1930s by Henri Lammens (1862–1937), who stressed the Arab character of Umayyad secular buildings. In his opinion it was a quasi-atavistic yearning for the desert that led the first caliphs to abandon the cities for the freedom of the boundless desert, where they built the grand villas whose fortified appearance inspired the name "castles in the desert."[8] This theory has been extremely long-lived, and it can be difficult to resist its charms.

A more modern, pragmatic view was first expressed by the French archaeologist Jean Sauvaget (1901–1950). According to him, the princely Umayyad villas resulted from the systematic colonization by the Arabs of border and desert land and were in fact agrarian settlements, made viable by complex irrigation systems. He viewed them as a direct translation of the Roman landed estate (*latifundium*) and country villa (*villa rustica*), usually found in the western provinces of the Roman Empire, into a Syrian environment.[9] Sauvaget's ideas, which still have their supporters today, have been refined and developed in the light of subsequent archaeological findings.

Recent research has shown that most Umayyad castles were abandoned after the eighth century and had little influence on later caliphal architecture, which usually consisted of large, centralized palace complexes. The probable reason for the discontinuance of the model is that the needs of the first Arab elites and the particular circumstances they had encountered did not arise again, at least not in Greater Syria, which would never again be central to the life of the caliphate. As Oleg Grabar put it, the *qasr* was of limited importance for Islamic art, but of paramount importance for pre-Islamic forms.[10] There is no doubt that the *qasr* was an eclectic expression that had no profound influence on the culture, as did, for example, the reform of the coinage in 696–97 under 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (r. 685–705), or the religious architecture of al-Walid I (r. 705–15). Instead, it underwent subtle transformations and contributed to a gradual reordering of things. Basic choices that influenced the development of Islamic art from the outset, such as the use of writing as a visual language and aniconic decoration, are not found in the art and architecture of *qusur*. A different approach by some Islamic art historians has seen in Umayyad secular architecture an attempt to break with Byzantine culture and the classical past, whereas, by contrast, the two great Umayyad religious buildings—the Dome of the Rock and the Great Mosque of Damascus—are examples of direct appropriation of earlier Christian models. On a political level, it may have been the failure of the siege of Constantinople in

Fig. 80. Aerial view of bathhouse and inner enclosure, 705–15. Qusayr ʻAmra, Jordan

717–18 that motivated the Umayyad caliphs to turn their eyes eastward and reject Byzantine for Sasanian culture.[11] An example of the change in models is the cruciform monumental gate of the citadel at Amman, Jordan, which served as an audience hall and was decorated with Sasanian-style blind niches featuring carved vegetal and geometric patterns (fig. 82).

But if the Umayyad castles are not in the mainstream of the culture's development from the point of view of Islamic art, for Byzantine art they are a lost link with the secular art of the empire, expressed in the artistic vernacular of Late Antiquity, a visual koine.[12] It is perhaps not surprising that the period of their construction—between ʻAbd al-Malik's reforms of 696–97 and the fall of the Umayyad dynasty in 750—should have had such fascination even for nonspecialists in Islamic history and art. Early Islam was fitted into the framework of Late Antiquity by classically trained scholars investigating the transition from the classical to the medieval period. Looking for instances of continuity, innovation, and change with fresh eyes, they fueled a different, broader vision of the period.[13]

Finally, there is the Arab factor to consider, and the Umayyad elite, who played a catalytic role in shaping Early Islamic art. Contrary to earlier beliefs, Arabs did not emerge from the Arabian Peninsula out of a cultural void. Arabic poetry describes a chivalrous pre-Islamic world, which was by no means isolated from the great empires of the time, but in touch with the natural environment and society of the Middle East.[14] Recent archaeological investigation in the ancient commercial metropolis of Qaryat al-Faw, southwest of modern Riyadh, and the caravan city of Mecca show that the Arabs had long been exposed to the visual culture of Late Antiquity.[15] As a merchant, Muhammad himself is said to have visited Bostra (today's Bosra), the Syrian town where the Mecca-bound caravans stopped, and there he had an encounter with the Syrian Christian monk Bahira.[16] The episode suggests how the Muslim Arabs of the Arabian Peninsula became acquainted with Byzantine and Sasanian culture along the commercial routes and how they encountered the Ghassanids and the Lakhmids, Christian Arab tribes who lived in Bilad al-Sham (Greater Syria).[17]

The *qasr* rarely stood alone in the desert landscape. It was made up of various components, including a mosque, baths, audience hall, residences, service buildings, farms, and irrigation systems. There are more than thirty-five examples of *qusur*, all dating to the first half of the eighth century.[18] The Umayyad castles in Bilad

Fig. 81. Bathing women. Fresco, 705–15. South wall, tepidarium, bathhouse, Qusayr ʻAmra, Jordan

Fig. 82. View of the interior of the gate (audience hall) showing Sasanian-style blind niches, mid-8th century. Citadel, Amman, Jordan

Fig. 83. Aerial view from southeast, before 710. Qasr al-Kharana, Jordan

al-Sham are mainly distributed on the edge of the Syrian steppe, which begins in the north at the Taurus Mountains and extends southeastward along the Euphrates River as far as the Arabian desert and then westward to the Gulf of Aqaba. The terrain ranges from semiarid land where dry-farming settlements can survive, to barren desert where settlements could survive only if supplied with carefully constructed irrigation systems.[19] West of this axis and the Jordan valley are the few surviving *qusur* located in what are now Israel and the Palestinian territories. Khirbat al-Mafjar, outside Jericho, is one of the three or four most richly decorated of all Umayyad examples.

Most of the Umayyad castles and estates were concentrated in the relatively fertile regions of the steppe along the Euphrates, in places such as Raqqa, Balis, and Rusafa (Sergiopolis), the favorite residence of Caliph Hisham (r. 724–43), and on the central plain of Jordan (the Balqa), on the fringes of the steppe, where Yazid II (r. 720–24) and al-Walid II preferred to live. Most of the extant *qusur* are located on the Balqa: Qasr al-Qastal (see Ballian, p. 216), Qasr al-Mshatta (see Ballian, p. 209), Qasr al-Fudayn (see Ballian, p. 212), the baths of Qusayr ʻAmra (fig. 80), the reservoir of Qasr al-Muwaqqar, Qasr al-Kharana (fig. 83), and Qasr al-Hallabat, with its adjacent baths, the Hammam al-Sarah.[20] In a less hospitable region are found the two famous castles of Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi and Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, to the east and west of the Palmyra oasis, respectively.[21] They lie on the route from the Euphrates to Damascus, which went through the Palmyran desert and thus required extensive irrigation systems.

Most *qusur* were built on or near one of the trade and pilgrimage roads that linked various parts of the Middle East with the northern Arabian Peninsula and the area of western Arabia known as the Hijaz, where the two holy cities of Islam—Mecca and Medina—are situated. An adequate provision of water was a precondition of their routing, and a nearby, irrigated *qasr* could function as a kind of caravanserai, or inn for travelers. South of Amman one such route passes through al-Humayma (ancient Hawara), where a villa belonging to the Abbasid family was recently discovered (see Foote, p. 221). It continues from there to the harbor of Ayla (modern Aqaba) on the Red Sea, from where one can cross by boat to the Hijaz. The Emperor Trajan's Road (*via nova Traiana*) followed much the same route, crossing the Roman province of Arabia from Bosra, in what is now Syria, to Ayla. Similarly, the *qusur* around the Palmyran desert seem to have been built on or near Emperor Diocletian's Road (*strata Diocletiana*), which began at the southern bank of the Euphrates and ran south and west, linking the city of Palmyra to Damascus and extending into northeast Arabia.[22]

These Roman roads were part of a defensive system called the *limes*, built on the frontier of the empire to hold back invaders, whether nomadic tribes or an Iranian army. The geographical distribution of the *qusur* on the edges of the Syrian steppe coincides more or less with the Roman frontier. With semicircular, or more rarely square, towers at the corners and on either side of the entrance, they repeat the plan of the military camps and large or small forts (*quadriburgium*) constructed by the Romans and later the Byzantines all along the *limes*.[23] Of course, the *qusur* were not built for a military purpose (the towers were either solid masonry or used as latrines) but served as prestige architecture, reflecting the power of the owner. Their fortified appearance and their position on or near strategic Roman roads emphasize the continuity with Late Antiquity, but whether any of them replaced a real Roman or Byzantine fort has been difficult to prove through excavations.[24]

The *qusur* were also used as meeting places for the Umayyad owner and the Arab tribes of the Syrian desert. In the sixth century the Byzantines had delegated the defense of their eastern *limes* to the Ghassanids, who led a confederacy of tribes and

Fig. 84. Painted floor showing musicians and a hunter from a reception room on the first floor of the east wing of Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, Syria. Secco painting, ca. 727. National Museum, Damascus

whose sphere of influence extended throughout the Syrian steppe. They also kept the peace among the turbulent Arab tribes and protected the trade routes.[25] On the other side of the border, the Sasanians had delegated the role of guardians and peacekeepers to the Lakhmids, who were based in Hira in southern Iraq. Apart from the by then unnecessary guarding of the frontier, the Ghassanids' role was later taken over by the Umayyads, not least because they needed the support of the tribes. Their castles became places for diplomatic contact between the caliph, his officials, and the Arab nomad tribes of the Syrian steppe, who had brought him to power and now supported him.[26] Unlike the Ghassanids, who had limited power of a military nature, the Umayyad elite had not only political power but also the economic means to finance irrigation projects and transform the meeting places into fortified palaces and hunting lodges amid gardens and agricultural enclosures.[27]

Epigraphic evidence and other indicators suggest that some of the *qusur* replaced monasteries as meeting places for the desert tribes and in fact maintained their function, serving similar religious and secular, social and political needs.[28] Later Arabic literary sources on the Ghassanids present them as great builders and include lists of buildings, mainly Miaphysite monasteries, since the Arab tribes of the Syrian steppe had embraced Christianity. Of the many instances cited in the literature, a few are substantiated by archaeological evidence, for example, at Qasr al-Fudayn (see Ballian, p. 212) and Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi.[29] It is tempting to suppose that, even if not continuously, Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi was nevertheless used successively as a Roman fort, Christian monastery, and Islamic country estate. An abandoned Roman fort inhabited by holy men, monks, or solitary ascetics is a literary *topos* of saints' lives, which reflects conditions on the Syrian steppe frontier in Late Antiquity. And the transformation of a monastery into an

Umayyad residence brings to mind another literary genre, the collection of Arabic poetry and anecdotes set in monasteries. Such compilations indicate that the Umayyad elite were attracted to the isolation of the monastic site as a refuge in times of plague or for more prosaic reasons, such as its supply of wine.[30]

A combination of monastic and Umayyad buildings is found at Rusafa (fig. 14). The pre-Islamic monastic complex, with its church and the relics of Saint Sergios, was a place of pilgrimage and assembly for the Arab Christian tribes, and it offered a way to display the might of the Byzantine state and the church hierarchy, which administered the shrine. The Ghassanids certainly played a role in the spread of Saint Sergios's cult, and their presence is attested by a carved inscription found in a basilical hall (either a church or an audience hall, or perhaps both), containing the name of the Ghassanid tribal chief al-Mundir (hellenized as Alamoundaros). Roughly two hundred years later the city attracted Caliph Hisham, who exploited the thriving pilgrimage center to strengthen his political power over the Arab Christian tribes. Outside the walls he built a *qasr* and a city and he appropriated the saint's cult space by electing to build a large mosque next to the basilica of Saint Sergios. The mosque's *qibla* wall adjoins the church's northern courtyard, and the mosque communicates with the church through a passage in the wall that leads the pilgrim straight to the northeastern chapel, where the saint's relics were kept.[31] This transition from one cult space to another via an intervening courtyard is symbolic of the gradual transition from one period to another. It may also reflect the Umayyad caliph's view of the place he held in his world: an undisputed ruler but by no means a foreign interloper, imposing himself by force and usurping the property of others; rather, a relative and neighbor, a fellow traveler who shares the same heritage.[32]

Earlier views of the Arab conquest held that in the 630s the Muslim Bedouin hordes took over Syria and swept away its Late Antique civilization. More recent opinion, based on archaeological research, speaks of an invisible conquest and a seamless transition from the Byzantine to the Umayyad era. Fundamental changes in the country's civic and economic fabric, long thought to have taken place in the Islamic period, had in fact begun to be implemented in the sixth century. A characteristic and much debated example is the shrinking of antique cities and the breakdown of the classical street plan. In Byzantine Syria, it became customary to build with *spolia*—reused earlier building material—and to convert the wide traffic arteries of the Late Antique city into narrow alleyways and covered markets, anticipating the Islamic suq.[33] These so-called anarchic construction practices were in fact developed when local small-scale industries proliferated, necessitating the conversion of empty public spaces to meet the needs of commercial enterprise. A related phenomenon in the same period was the increased use of pack animals as a means of transport—unlike carts, these could maneuver through the narrow streets.[34]

Nowhere is the smooth transition from Byzantium to Islam clearer than in the area of material culture. In the first generations after the Islamic expansion the objects that were produced, traded, and used in Bilad al-Sham differed little from those predating the 630s or those of the sixth century in general.[35] Two examples are small glass pilgrim jugs with molded decoration used by Christians, Jews, and Muslims alike (cat. nos. 60, 62, 72, 186) and the clay lamps with crosses and Greek or Arabic inscriptions (cat. nos. 126c–g, 127).

Continuities are clear but innovations begin to be discernible at the end of the eighth century and during the ninth. In ceramics, important changes took place with the increasing use of glaze, which was made to a new recipe, pointing to a change in ceramic technology.[36] The first reflections of imported Chinese ceramics began to appear, in the form of colored splashes on otherwise typical Late Antique pottery (cat. no. 175), a phenomenon that in its fully developed form we know from excavations at Samarra, the capital city of the Abbasid caliphs from 836 to 892.[37] This receptiveness of the Islamic world to Chinese culture was

Fig. 85. Standing caliph from the entrance portal of the bathhouse at Khirbat al-Mafjar, Palestinian Territories. Molded plaster around bricks, 724–43 or 743–46. The Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority

Fig. 86. Drawing of enthroned prince. Fresco, 705–15. South wall, alcove, hall, Qusayr 'Amra, Jordan. Reproduced from Musil 1907, vol. 2, pl. XV

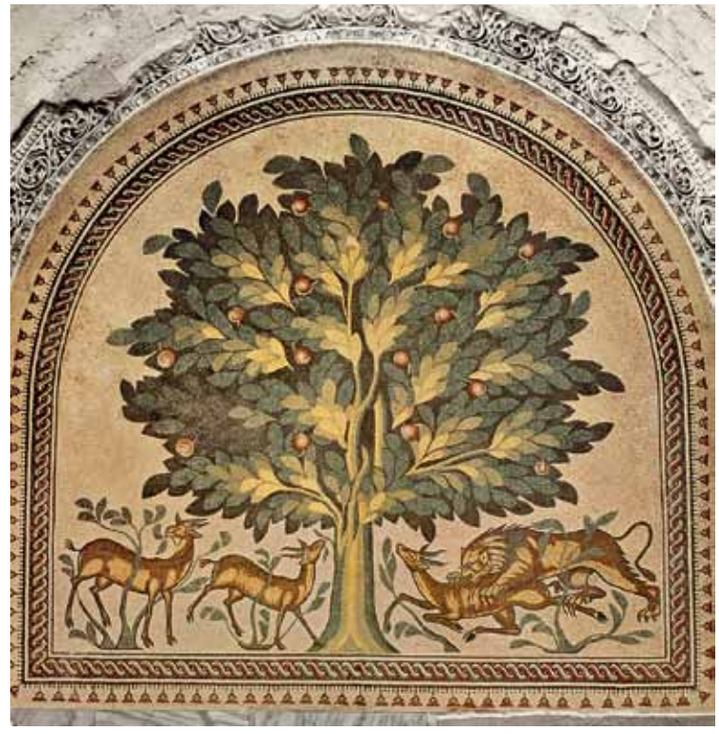

Fig. 87. Mosaic pavement with a lion and gazelle, 724–43 or 743–46. Reception hall, Khirbat al-Mafjar, Palestinian Territories

something new: the Byzantines seem to have been virtually unaware of the art of the Far East. The great surge in international trade based on Basra and Baghdad was at the root of the development, but this does not mean that Syria was entirely relegated to the background. From 796 until his death, Caliph Harun al-Rashid (r. 786–809) made Raqqa his imperial residence (cat. no. 154), and it was probably in that Syrian city that the caliph received the much-talked-about gift of two thousand pieces of Chinese porcelain sent to him by the governor of Khurasan.[38]

Umayyad and Byzantine clear glass have the same properties and were worked into the same shapes and patterns.[39] As for luxury wares, two techniques of known Roman ancestry, sandwich glassmaking (cat. no. 158) and cameo glassmaking (cat. no.116), were occasionally used by Islamic artisans—the former in Syria and the latter in Iran or Iraq. Whether these are cases of the survival or the revival of a Roman technique in the Islamic period and whether Byzantine glass played an intermediary role or not are questions that research has yet to answer. The earliest technique of glass painting in the Islamic period involved the application of luster pigments to luxury glass vessels, a technological innovation in which Egyptian glassmakers of the Late Roman period played a pioneering role. In the eighth century both Syria and Egypt seem to have produced such wares (cat. nos. 155, 174). But the real break with Late Antique traditions came in the ninth century, with the transfer of the luster technology from glass to pottery (cat. nos. 117, 155, 166, 174).

Everyday objects made of copper alloy also tell a story of continuity, innovation, and change: vessels common in the Late Roman and Early Islamic world share the same uses and shapes. Some continued to develop up to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, others were more freely adapted to Muslim needs. Others began to change in the ninth century and continued to develop up to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Typical examples are the copper-alloy flasks with a strip used to fasten the handle to the neck (cat. nos. 57, 151) and incense burners (cat. nos. 122, 148, 150A). Objects that show parallels and continuities with Roman or Byzantine copperwork are found in places as far afield as Iran, as in the case of some ninth- to tenth-century flasks excavated in Iranian Nishapur, or an incense burner now in Afghanistan, or a bucket that is associated with Khurasan but still clearly shows a relationship to similar objects from Late Antiquity (cat. no. 123B).[40]

Trade and communication between the Mediterranean countries and Iran flourished in the centuries before the arrival of the Muslim armies. Sasanian silverware of the late fifth and sixth centuries adopted Late Roman forms and was decorated with Dionysiac imagery (cat. nos. 19, 20); examples traveled along the Silk Road and influenced the wares of Central Asia and China.[41] The Dionysiac imagery is a striking example of cultural continuity, transcending political and religious boundaries. On a brazier found at Qasr al-Fudayn (cat. no. 143) the depiction of the retinue (*thiasos*) of Dionysos, a classical subject, must have been understood by the Umayyad elite, if not as part of its original

mythological context, then at least as a depiction of the "good life," including material wealth and good fortune. A similar example of cultural continuity is presented by a series of painted ceramic bowls produced on a large scale in the sixth and seventh centuries at Gerasa (present-day Jerash, Jordan) in kilns at the abandoned hippodrome. Among the subjects depicted are Pan, satyrs, and other pagan classical themes, all part of the baggage of Late Antique popular culture and art appropriated by the Umayyads.[42] There is no need to posit Sasanian influence or Coptic craftsmen in the service of the Umayyads. The parallels with Egyptian works in copper alloy lend weight to the view that the metalwork objects with common technical and iconographical characteristics made in Egypt and other parts of the eastern Mediterranean area in the Late Roman or Byzantine period continued to be produced in the Umayyad period.[43]

As mentioned above, copper-alloy objects datable to the turn of the eighth century show obvious signs of innovation and a transition to another era. The bird-shaped ewers from Mount Sinai (cat. no. 38) and in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (cat. no. 169), reflect such a shift in decoration and form as well as in their function. Though eagles with clear connotations of power are a common motif in the Late Antique world, the precise models of these ewers cannot at present be identified. It is more important that they seem to stand at the start of a tradition that included later Islamic zoomorphic statuettes,

Fig. 88. Drawing of six kings. Fresco, 705–15. West wall, hall, Qusayr 'Amra, Jordan. Reproduced from Musil 1907, vol. 2, pl. XXVI

incense burners, and aquamanilia; the latter, coming mostly from Iran or Spain, in turn influenced the production of Western European aquamanilia.[44] The shapes of and the decoration on two other Early Islamic ewers still recall Late Antique models. The one in the Georgian National Museum, Tbilisi (cat. no. 152), which is the earliest signed Islamic work with a known manufacture in Basra, has the appearance of late Sasanian silverware, with the characteristic high conical foot of Syrian ewers and the punched decoration found on Late Roman and Byzantine copper-alloy vessels.[45] The other, the so-called Marwan ewer (cat. no. 171), remains a controversial object; despite strong similarities with Syrian works, it is innovative and also suggestive of the Chinese porcelain jugs with bird-shaped spouts of Iranian inspiration imported to Basra.

By contrast with later Islamic art, where metalwork and ceramics predominate, the types of artistic production that best represent the early period are the ones that so impressed the early twentieth-century European visitors to the desert castles: mosaics, wall paintings, and sculpture. Yet we should not forget that, of the thirty-five or so known Umayyad country estates, the number in which elaborate figurative decoration and court imagery have been found can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Mosaics and figural sculpture demonstrate a continuity with the art of Late Antiquity, but they disappeared in the later Islamic periods.[46] Wall painting with figurative and nonfigurative subjects continued to grace the palaces of Muslim rulers, as did pictures showing the life of the ruler and his courtiers celebrating the princely life, with its dancing, song, wine, and hunting. These subjects evoke images of prosperity and luxury not unknown in the art of Late Antiquity. The difference is that in the Early Islamic world the accouterments of the good life were enjoyed exclusively by the elite, and patronage was in the hands of the prince and not the local landowner, community elder, or bishop. It is in the desert castles that the iconography of courtly life was first developed around the ceremonial and leisure activities of the prince. It remained the only figural iconography in the Islamic world for centuries and was closely associated with the ruler and the propagation of his power.

The court imagery of the Umayyad princely residences does not yet have the timeless formality that it would later acquire, but the half-naked dancing girls still recall classical Maenads, and scenes such as one with a servant girl bathing a child evoke private family moments in a Roman bath (fig. 81).[47] Although the theme of princely life is thought to be of Iranian origin, the visual vocabulary used in the *qusur* is the hybrid language of Late Antiquity, found on both sides of the frontier: in the Sasanian palace at Bishapur and the Great Palace at Constantinople. Whether for dancing girls or for rulers, the Umayyads drew largely

on artistic models available (and probably still visible) in Syria, where influences from Old and New Rome and from neighboring Iran had been integrated. The appropriation of ornamental motifs and the visual insignia of power had begun in the sixth century between the Byzantine and the Sasanian courts, and the trend continued under the Umayyads.[48]

The distinction between the Roman-Byzantine tradition and the Sasanian tradition was formerly ideologically weighted, creating two poles, the classical West and the remote and exotic East.[49] A striking confrontation between those two poles is made in the painted floor of Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi. On one side of a staircase is depicted Ge (Gaia), the Late Antique personification of abundance and well-being, just as one might expect to come across her in the mosaic floors of Antioch or in a sixth-century church on Mount Nebo. On the other side, a Sasanian or Sogdian horseman is shown hunting gazelles and other wild animals, as on Sasanian-inspired silverware (fig. 84).[50]

More often than not traditions overlapped. A straightforward example is found in the iconography of the ruler, who is depicted in distinctive ways that exploit the imagery of power. At Khirbat al-Mafjar, above the entrance portal to the bathhouse, was set a stucco statue of the prince who owned the *qasr* (fig. 85). He is dressed in the Sasanian manner, with baggy trousers and a long coat, and is holding what is probably a dagger or a sword. He stands in a niche on a pedestal decorated with heraldic lions. A niche setting was de rigueur for imperial statues in Late Antiquity, and lions, usually flying, were a necessary part of an apotheosis scene, which through the ages in both East and West has connoted the glorification of a ruler.[51]

A different ruler image is found in the baths at Qusayr ʻAmra (fig. 86). It is based on a Late Roman image of a seated emperor that was turned into an Enthroned Christ or prophet-king (cat. no. 6c). That figure has been transformed into an emir. He is flanked by two servants, at least one of whom holds a fly whisk, while a Nilotic scene can be made out below. Birds (probably a type of partridge) flock about him, in procession around the arch and perched on the columns of the arch. They come from different sources and are here combined to emphasize—or rather to glorify—power. The procession recalls the plaques of stucco birds decorating the Sasanian royal audience halls (*iwan*), while the columns with birds are reminiscent of the canon tables on the prefatory pages of Gospel books (cat. no. 39 and fig. 21).[52] The process of selecting images from the large visual repertoire of antiquity and then adapting them required the intellectual involvement of the patron (and perhaps also the artist), who was thus shaping a new Umayyad cultural identity.

If the famous Early Islamic mosaic floor with a central fruit tree and two gazelles peacefully browsing on leaves on one side while on the other a lion attacks a third gazelle had not been found in an excavation at Khirbat al-Mafjar, it might have been thought to come from the mosaic floor of the Great Palace in Constantinople (fig. 87).[53] Equally well known is a wall painting from Qusayr ʻAmra in which six kings are shown paying homage to the Umayyad ruler, who is depicted at the end of the audience hall (fig. 88). Lined up like the retinues of Justinian and Theodora in the Byzantine mosaics at San Vitale, Ravenna, they are identified by inscriptions in Greek and Arabic.[54] The subject of the family of kings is part of the Iranian literary tradition. It promotes the idea of an international hierarchy of sovereigns, an exclusive club of powerful leaders, who are welcoming a new ruler into the bosom of the family. The message is strictly political, and the image serves propaganda purposes: standing aloof, the new monarch accepts the homage of the great kings of the earth and declares himself first among equals.[55] He is fully aware of his glorious ancestry, as was Yazid III (r. 744), whose proud words al-Tabari later recorded as follows: "I am the son of Kisra [Khusrau]; my grandfather is Marwan; one grandfather is a Qaysar [Caesar]; the other is a Khaqan [Great Khan]."[56]

The breakup of the Umayyad dynasty in 750 and the rise of the Abbasids have been described as concurrent with the cultural turn of the Islamic caliphate toward the east; the Late Antique traditions of Mediterranean Islam were relinquished and the focus shifted to the territory of Iraq, where a new capital, Baghdad, was built on the Tigris River, not far from Ctesiphon, the capital of the former Sasanian kingdom. However, that is only half the truth. The idea seems to coincide with the Abbasid chroniclers' desire to suppress every trace of the Umayyads. It is true that no more castles were built after the eighth century, but in the art and architecture of Samarra, the temporary Abbasid capital (founded in 836), most of the decorative and iconographic motifs are inconceivable without the earlier Umayyad *qusur* and their decoration. If in nothing else, the Umayyad period is reflected in the transitional composition of the vine and the tree over the Baghdad doors of catalogue number 160, and above all in the content of the wall paintings of Dar al-Khilafa in Samarra, with their huge cornucopias, dancing girls, and abundant vegetation. And it is perhaps also reflected in the style of these wall paintings, which modern scholars consider naturalistic and closely related to Umayyad models.[57] In short, a transition was formally accomplished, but the traditions of Late Antiquity, which secular art in particular continued to reflect, lived on.

3 See Behrens-Abouseif 1997.
4 See Baer 1983, pp. 155–56, and Féhervári 1976, nos. 6, 34, 38, 39, 47–49.

Vine Rinceaux

Gabriele Mietke

1 Persia: Ettinghausen 2007, pp. 47–59; Arabian Peninsula: Finster 1996, pp. 305–6, p. 307, fig. 21, p. 316, fig. 32, p. 318; Indian subcontinent: Rowland 1956.
2 Toynbee and Ward-Perkins 1950; Shalem 2004, p. 98, n. 60 (bibl.).
3 Vine and vine scrolls are ubiquitous in Late Antique art. Numerous examples can be found in Dunbabin 1978; Alföldi-Rosenbaum and Ward-Perkins 1980; Donceel-Voûte 1988; Fıratlı 1990; Enss 2005.
4 Harrison 1986, pp. 4–5 (chronology), p. 118, fig. A, p. 120, fig. B, p. 127, fig. F, photographs 87–91, 93–100, 131, 151, 154, 155, 157. See also two column drums in Istanbul: Fıratlı 1990, pp. 102–3, no. 190, pl. 61, and the ambo from the Church of Saint George in Thessaloniki of Constantinopolitan origin: Fıratlı 1990, pp. 96–97, pls. 56, 57; Warland 1994. They combine the vine with a Christian subject, referring to its symbolic meaning.
5 Friedländer 1912, pp. 245–46: ll. 652–57, p. 286. The original frieze was replaced by a stucco frieze during the restoration by the Fossati brothers in the mid-nineteenth century, but the vine scroll seems to have been modeled after an original piece still preserved at that time: Hawkins 1964, pp. 131–33, figs. 1–3.
6 Mainstone 1988, pp. 43, 192. A field on the western wall is framed by similar scrolls in opus sectile springing from kantharoi: Kähler 1967, fig. 64.
7 Flood 1997, pp. 57–59.
8 Hillenbrand 1982, pp. 1–3; Enderlein and Meinecke 1992.
9 Enderlein and Meinecke 1992, pp. 157–58.
10 Deichmann 1956, pp. 63–84.
11 Talgam 2004, vol. 1, pp. 47–119.
12 Enderlein and Meinecke 1992, p. 156; Fowden 2004a, p. 285.
13 Hamilton 1959, p. 104 (for numerous examples, see plates); Hillenbrand 1982, pp. 1–3.
14 Hamilton 1959, pp. 42–43.
15 Talgam 2004, vol. 1, pp. 48–68. For a striking example of two sculptures of enthroned princes from Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, one in a Sasanian, the other in a Roman-Byzantine style, see Fowden 2004b, p. 121, fig. 39, and p. 122, fig. 40.
16 Qusayr ʿAmra: Vibert-Guigue and Bishah 2007; Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi: Schlumberger 1986.
17 Hillenbrand 1982.
18 Fowden 2004a, pp. 283–85.

Inscribed Textiles

Cäcilia Fluck

1 Inscribed fabrics from other regions are less numerous; see, for instance, von Falkenhausen 2000.
2 Vogelsang-Eastwood 1995, pp. 40–41.
3 Fluck and Helmecke 2006, pp. xiii–xiv.
4 Fluck 2006, pp. 152, 161; van der Vliet 2006, pp. 24, 28.
5 Lombard 1978, pp. 219–25; Salim 1995, pp. 22–23; Helmecke 2006, pp. 175–76 (with further references); Fluck and Helmecke forthcoming.
6 Helmecke 2006, p. 175.
7 Figurative and ornamental decoration apparently remained popular at this time. However, we cannot say whether these textiles were used exclusively by Christians.
8 Helmecke 2006, esp. p. 177; Niewöhner-Eberhard 2006, pp. 196, 199.
9 Van der Vliet 2006, pp. 42–57.

Inscribed Objects

Robert Schick

1 Khairy and ʿAmr 1986, p. 147, no. 7, fig. 7.
2 ʿAmr 1989.
3 ʿAmr 1988, p. 167, fig. 11.
4 Khairy and ʿAmr 1986, p. 144, no. 1, fig. 1, and p. 145, no. 2, fig. 2; for a parallel example, see p. 145, no. 3, fig. 3.
5 Ibid., p. 150, no. 12, fig. 10.

Jewelry: Ideologies and Transformation

Stephen R. Zwirn

1 Janes 1998, passim.
2 K. Brown 1979.
3 "There are ornaments in vast numbers, which hang from iron rods: armlets, bracelets, necklaces, rings, tiaras, plaited girdles, belts, emperors' crowns of gold and precious stones, and the insignia of an empress," quoted from J. Wilkinson 1977, Anonymous Pilgrim, sect. 18, p. 83.
4 Juynboll 1986; reference specifically to treasures in Ctesiphon, the Sasanian capital, p. 108.
5 Janes 1998.
6 Jenkins and Keene 1983, p. 15.
7 Wenzel 1993. Early Islamic rings developed from Roman and Sasanian types are distinguished from their precedents by their Arabic inscriptions; recognizable styles and shapes follow. See ibid., Sasanian rings, nos. 5–30 (drawings, pp. 184–87), and early Islamic rings, nos. 31–86 (drawings, pp. 188–96). See also Musche 1988 for all types of Sasanian jewelry, pp. 289–330, pls. 102–17.
8 Jenkins and Keene 1983, cat. no. 5. See the stucco figure from Khirbat al-Mafjar, eighth century: Ettinghausen et al. 2001, fig 57.
9 For the addorsed birds, see Atıl 1990, p. 79, cat. no. 16.
10 Baldini Lippolis 1999, pp. 96–97, drop earrings (seventh century).
11 Mizzi 1965–82, vol. 4, pp. 415–16, with source identified with ʿUbayd Allah ibn ʿUmar (d. 147/764) (according to Juynboll 1986, p. 111, n. 25), a notable jurist in Medina.
12 Juynboll 1986, p. 111, n. 25, based on a mid-eighth-century tradition.
13 Almagro et al. 1975, pls. 5; 9a, b; 19; 27a, c, where the patron is identified as al-Walid I (r. 705–15); Fowden 2004b identifies Walid II (r. 743–44) as the patron, in the decade before his accession.
14 The breast chain, made up of four interconnected chains, was worn over the shoulders and around the torso by women. Known in numerous representations, few examples exist; see K. Brown 1984; C. Johns 2010, pp. 23–27.
15 Jenkins and Keene 1983, p. 15.
16 Ross 2005, no. 6E.
17 Qur'an, Sura 2:137; Jenkins and Keene 1983, p. 24, cat. no. 6.
18 El-Cheikh 2004, pp. 21–81.

Women

Mina Moraitou

1 Piccirillo 1992, pp. 38–39.
2 Ibid., pp. 51–57; Bowersock 2006, pp. 81–86.
3 Fowden 2004b, pp. 87–88.
4 See Piccirillo 1992, fig. 78; Schlumberger 1986, pl. 35.
5 See Piccirillo 1992, p. 38, and compare, for example, with two textiles from Egypt depicting the river Nile as a man and the Earth as a woman, in Alaoui 2000, cat. nos. 1, 2.
6 Schlumberger 1986, pls. 34, 37.
7 Such as Mshatta, Khirbat al-Mafjar, and Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi; see Baer 1999a.

ISLAM

Country Estates, Material Culture, and the Celebration of Princely Life: Islamic Art and the Secular Domain

Anna Ballian

1 Cutler 1995, p. 317; A. Walker and Luyster 2009, pp. 1–8. For Byzantine secular art, see Dauterman Maguire and Maguire 2007.
2 I would like to acknowledge the contribution of Oleg Grabar in this field of studies. His seminal work *The Formation of Islamic Art* (1973) has profoundly influenced many generations of Islamic art historians.
3 J. Johns 2003, pp. 411–18; I have borrowed Hillenbrand's (1982) application of the phrase "dolce vita"; Hamilton 1988, pp. 20–22, 32–37, 46–48, 103–8.
4 The latter accusation may not be far from the truth. See Tabari 1989, p. 194.
5 El-Cheikh 2004, pp. 154–55.
6 Herzfeld 1910; Leisten 2005.
7 It is interesting that the term "Late Antiquity" was used for the first time by Alois Riegl, who undertook a pioneering analysis of acanthus and foliate decoration, starting with ancient Egyptian and Greek examples and moving on, via Rome and Byzantium, to the arabesque. See Elsner 2002.
8 Lammens 1930.
9 Sauvaget 1967.
10 O. Grabar 1973, p. 145.
11 Hillenbrand 1981, pp. 63–64, 75, 81; Hillenbrand 1999a, pp. 29–34.
12 O. Grabar 1992a, pp. 191–92; Kitzinger 1976, pp. 166–67, 189–94.
13 In the eastern Roman Empire and the lands bordering it, Late Antiquity is considered by most scholars to have lasted from the fourth through the eighth century. We owe the concept of Late Antiquity to Peter Brown, and a comprehensive assessment can be found in Bowersock et al. 1999. The study that best combines the approach of a classicist with that of an Islamic scholar is Fowden 2004b. For an excellent overview of scholarship on the subject of Late Antiquity and the Umayyads, see Tohme 2005.
14 Rabbat 2003, pp. 80–81.
15 Demange 2010, pp. 310–363.
16 Gero 1992.
17 Bilad al-Sham encompassed modern-day Syria, Jordan, Palestine, and part of Lebanon.
18 Bacharach 1996; Milwright 2009, pp. 34–41.
19 For the importance of the Syrian desert, see P. Brown 1971, pp. 82–83; Kennedy 1985b, pp. 163–64.
20 King 1992; MacAdam 1994.
21 Schlumberger 1986; O. Grabar et al. 1978.
22 King 1987; Genequand 2004b; Milwright 2009, pp. 36–37.
23 Genequand 2006b, pp. 4–5.
24 According to Genequand 2006b, pp. 12–13, of all the known Umayyad castles, only Qasr al-Hallabat, in Jordan, and Qasr al-Bakhra, near Palmyra, are rebuilt Roman forts.

25 A different perspective is given by historical and philological studies of the Arab Christian tribes in Bilad al-Sham before the Muslim conquest, which cast doubts on a number of long-standing assumptions, such as their nomadic way of life. The fundamental works are Shahîd 1995; Shahîd 2002. See also Walmsley 2007, pp. 139–41; Genequand 2006a.
26 The custom of assembling the Arab tribes predates the Umayyad period. The Ghassanids convened such meetings in a village called al-Jabiya in the Golan Heights, where roughly a hundred years later Marwan I (r. 684–85) was recognized as the fourth Umayyad caliph by the assembled Arabs of the Kalb tribe; see Bacharach 1996, p. 29.
27 Genequand 2009.
28 Shahîd 1992; Tohme 2009.
29 Schlumberger 1986; Genequand 2006a. In addition to the examples noted in this introduction there are also Qasr al-Hallabat and Qasr al-Burqu'; see Key Fowden 2004, pp. 183–86. The latter, located in the isolated desert region of Hawran but close to routes used by nomads, is the oldest *qasr* associated with the caliph (then prince) Walid I. It is dated A.H. 81 (710 C.E.). See King 1992, p. 372; Bacharach 1996, pp. 31–32.
30 Kennedy 1985b, p. 164; Key Fowden 2004, pp. 163–67, 177; Schlumberger (1986, pp. 1–2) maintains that Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi was built over an earlier Roman settlement, but this is not accepted by Genequand (2006a, pp. 66–69), who also attributes the Qasr al-Hayr dam to the Umayyad period. On Umayyads and monasteries, see Hamilton 1988, pp. 86–99.
31 The German Archaeological Institute carries out excavations in the Rusafa area. Ulbert 1986; Sack 1996.
32 Caliph Hisham's links with Rusafa were remembered there until the thirteenth century, when the monastery, also called Rusafat Hisham, was described by Yakut al-Rumi as one of the wonders of the world for its beauty and its architecture. See Key Fowden 2004b, p. 186.
33 Pentz 1992; Kennedy 1985a; Walmsley 2007, pp. 34–47.
34 Foote 2000, p. 31.
35 Walmsley 2007, pp. 48–70.
36 Schick 1998, pp. 90–94; Sodini and Villeneuve 1992; Orssaud 1992.
37 Northedge and Kennet 1994.
38 The gift is mentioned by the eleventh-century Khurasani historian Al-Bayhaqi; cited in Lane 1958, pp. 10–11.
39 Von Saldern 1998; Carboni and Whitehouse 2001, pp. 110–11, cat. nos. 27, 28; Walmsley 2007, pp. 64–65.
40 For the incense burners, see Allan 1982, pp. 41–42, nos. 93–99, pp. 78–81; Melikian-Chirvani 1982, p. 32, fig. 7; for the bucket, see Pitarakis 2005, p. 25.
41 Ettinghausen 1972; Demange 2006, pp. 73–74; Harper 2006, pp. 78, 88–91.
42 Shboul and Walmsley 1998, pp. 280–81, fig. 4. Dionysiac subjects seem also to have been part of the Umayyad literary tradition; see Fowden 2004b, pp. 259–65. On "the good life" and Pan, a minor pagan deity, depicted sometimes on the mosaic floors of churches, see Maguire 1999, p. 249. For the Dionysiac mosaics found at Madaba, Jordan, see Piccirillo 1992, pp. 76–77.
43 For the earliest and latest opinions on so-called Coptic art, see Bagnall 2007, pp. 1–8. On textiles, see T. Thomas 2007; for metalwork, see Drandaki 2011.
44 Barnet and Dandridge 2006, pp. 10–17.
45 A number of the ewers from the unpublished Tiberias treasure have similar feet, as does an example, also unpublished, in the Benaki Museum, Athens (13140). Depictions of ewers on Fatimid ceramics and the ceiling of the Capella Palatina, Palermo, all stand on a high conical foot; see Grube and Johns 2005, pl. XXXVII, fig. 29.6. Punched decoration and punched inscriptions are common on sixth- and seventh-century metalwork. For buckets, see Drandaki 2002, p. 43. For a group of ewers, see Drandaki 2011.
46 Hillenbrand 1999a, p. 37.
47 Fowden 2004b, pp. 57–64.
48 Canepa 2009, pp. 188–223.
49 Hoffman 2008, pp. 107–9.
50 Ettinghausen 1977, pp. 34–36; Piccirillo 1992, pp. 38, 174, fig. 226; Demange 2006, pp. 130–31, cat. no. 73.
51 Hamilton 1988, pp. 22–23, 172–75, frontispiece, figs. 5, 30; Harper 1979b.
52 Fowden 2004b, pp. 114–41; Demange 2006, pp. 51–52, 56, cat. no. 9 (Jens Kröger). A frieze of partridges decorates the base of the dome in a small chamber at Khirbat al-Mafjar; see Hamilton 1988, pp. 38–39. For birds on columns, see also the mosaic floor from the upper church of the Priest John in Mount Nebo; Piccirillo 1992, p. 175, fig. 228.
53 The subject of the mosaic is usually identified as an allegory of Umayyad power: the peace the caliphs maintain in their empire is shown on one side of the tree and their wrath against their enemies is seen on the other. But since the mosaic comes from a small room, probably a private space next to the bathhouse, other interpretations are possible. In Arabic poetry, a gazelle is compared to the (female) beloved, and the lion is a symbol of male strength or courage. See Ettinghausen 1977, pp. 38–39; Behrens-Abouseif 1997.
54 Four names are legible: those of Caesar, the Byzantine emperor; Roderick, king of the Visigoths (who was defeated by Muslim forces in 711 or 712, a date that gives us a terminus post quem for the wall painting); Kisra, or Khusrau, a Sasanian king, recognizable by his winged crown; and the Negus, ruler of Ethiopia. The other two cannot be firmly identified, as the inscriptions are damaged, but the images are thought to represent the emperor of China and the Khaqan, ruler of the Turks.
55 O. Grabar 1973, pp. 46–48; Fowden 2004b, pp. 197–226.
56 Tabari 1989, p. 243. Yazid III was indeed the son of a captive Sasanian princess.
57 Hoffman 2008.

Qasr al-Mshatta

Anna Ballian

1 Creswell 1932–40, vol. 1, pp. 350–89; Creswell 1989, pp. 201–14.
2 Enderlein and Meinecke 1992, pp. 146–47; Leisten 2005.
3 Hillenbrand 1981, p. 71, pl. 10.
4 Another well-known use of the triconch in sixth-century Syria is in the Constantinopolitan-designed palace of Qasr ibn Wardan.
5 O. Grabar 1987a; Walmsley 2007, pp. 100–104.
6 Tabari 1989, pp. 103–4.
7 Enderlein and Meinecke 1992, p. 145, n. 38. The sons of Sulaym supported Walid when he was being pursued and fled to the place where he was ultimately murdered; see Tabari 1989, p. 156.

Al-Fudayn

Anna Ballian

1 MacAdam 1994, pp. 75–76.
2 Humbert 1986, pp. 354–58; *Voie royale* 1986, p. 267; Augé et al. 1997, pp. 161–62; *Umayyads* 2000, pp. 133–35.
3 The name comes from the so-called Letter of the Archimandrites, a Syriac list of Miaphysite clerics from the reign of Justin II (r. 565–78). Key Fowden 2004, pp. 184–85.
4 Fowden 2004b, pp. 153–56.

Al-Qastal

Anna Ballian

1 Carlier and Morin 1984; *Voie royale* 1986, pp. 263–65; *Umayyads* 2000, pp. 112–14.
2 Addison 2000.
3 Bishah 2000.
4 Bacharach 1996, pp. 36–37. It is likely that the original structure was from the time of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (r. 685–705), who, when he distributed agricultural land to his descendants, gave the region of al-Balqa to Yazid.
5 Bishah 2000, pp. 436–37; Fowden 2004b, pp. 152–53. For al-Azdi, see Robinson 2006.

An Abbasid Residence at al-Humayma

Rebecca M. Foote

1 For examples, see Oleson et al. 1995, 1999. The Humayma Hydraulic Survey and Excavation Project was directed by Professor J. P. Oleson of the Greek and Roman Studies Department, University of Victoria, from its inception in 1986 until 2007, and has since been directed by Dr. M. B. Reeves of the Classics Department of Queens University, Kingston, Ontario. Codirectors and assistant directors have included K. 'Amr, R. Shick, E. de Bruijn, A. Sherwood, and the author. The institutions and foundations that financially supported our work include the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Fondation Max van Berchem, the Taggart Family Foundation, Dumbarton Oaks, the American Schools of Oriental Research, and the Department of Antiquities of Jordan. The American Center of Oriental Research provided logistical support over the many campaigns of excavation.

Ornamental Motifs in Early Islamic Art

Mina Moraitou

1 Hillenbrand 1999b.
2 See Bishah 1993.
3 http://www.princeton.edu/~syria/AreaC.htm.
4 See O. Grabar 1992b, pp. 155–93.
5 For Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, see, for example, Schlumberger 1986, pls. 73, 75.
6 For this collection of early Qur'ans, see Moritz 1905, nos. 2, 5, 11.
7 See Haase 2007b.
8 Ettinghausen et al. 2001, pp. 57–58, and bibliographical references.
9 See ibid., pp. 104–7, and Hillenbrand 1999a, p. 45.
10 For a representative example, see the mosque of Ibn Tulun in Cairo. Creswell 1989, pp. 391–406.

Fustat

Iman R. Abdulfattah

1 *Amsar* were intended to permanently house the Muslim soldiers and segregate them from the local indigenous population.